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Received 4 June 1973

Chairman Mao and Premier Chou have learned of President Mixon's expressed desire to visit China again. The Chinese Government welcomes the President to revisit China at an appropriate time.

The Chinese side has learned of the U.S. side's tentative thinking on the settlement of the question of Cambodia. Just as Premier Chou pointed out to Ambassador Bruce, in settling the Cambodian question, all parties concerned should respect Cambodia's sovereignty. It is impossible for the Chinese side to conduct any talks with the United States in place of the Cambodian side. The Cambodian question can only be settled through direct negotiations between the U.S. side and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia led by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. The Chinese side can communicate the U.S. tentative thinking to the Cambodian side, but as Samdech Sihanouk is still visiting Africa and Europe, it is inconvenient for us to contact him through diplomatic channels. For the sake of accuracy, the Chinese side would like to repeat the U.S. tentative thinking as follows: "The United States is prepared to stop its bombing in Cambodia. It is prepared to withdraw the military advisory groups it has there. It is prepared to arrange for the withdrawal of Lon Nol for medical treatment in the United States. In return, it would like a cease-fire, if necessary for 90 days, a negotiation between the Sihanouk group and the remainder of the Lon Nol group. While this negotiation is going on in Cambodia, the United States would authorize some discussions between the staff of Ambassador Bruce and the subordinates of Frince Sihanouk in Peking. And when this process is completed in some months, the U.S. would not

oppose the return of Prince Sihanouk to Cambodia. But it is a process that has to extend over some time." If there are any inaccuracies in the above, it is expected that the U.S. side will provide corrections.

Authority <u>E0 12958</u> BYKT NARA Date 7-507

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARITICPANTS: Amb. Huang Chen, Chief of the PRC Liason Office in Wash. Chi Chiao-chu, Official of the PRC Liason Office Chien Ta-yung, Official of the PRC Liason Office

<u>audente la companie de la companie</u>

Dr. Henry A. Kissinger Lawrence Eagleburger, NSC Staff Richard Solomon; NSC Staff Peter W. Rodman, NSC Staff

TIME AND DATE:

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Monday, June 4, 1973

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Kissinger: I have some pictures for you. Pictures of you with the President. You can keep them.

You had lunch at the State Department today? Marking a likewing against for any meet all the trees believe a day

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Huang: Yes.

Kissinger: Are you getting used to our food? The Property of the Control of the Section of the S

Huang: All the food I ate was very tasty. [laughter] was to the state of the state o

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Kissinger: The Ambassador is a great diplomat.

Huang: Thank you for the pictures. We would like to send copies to Chairman Mac and Prime Minister Chou

Kissinger: All right. We will have the President send a little note.

Huang: Sign mine too.

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Kissinger: Good, we will send them tomorrow of this week.

Huang: First, we have a message for you.

<u>Kissinger:</u> You have a different method from your Ambassador in New York. He lets me charge first, like a bull fighter.

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Huang: I was in the army. This is quite short. [Reads Tab A] "Chairman Mao and Prime Minister Chou have learned of President Nixon's desire to visit China again. Chairman Mao welcomes President Nixon to visit China at an appropriate time."

Kissinger: Thank you. You know what this does to my staff--they won't resign now because they will all hope to go.

Huang: You will come too, many times.

Kissinger: I will be coming in August. I don't know if the Prime Minister is visiting the United Nations this fall. Because if he does, we would certainly give him an appropriate welcome in Washington. Of course we would like it even better if he just visited Washington, without visiting the United Nations.

<u>Huang</u>: Up to now we have no knowledge of any plans of the Prime Minister to visit the United Nations. Dr. Kissinger knows the Premier has so much work, day in and day out, and he is getting on in years. The main thing is so much work.

Kissinger: Slowing down for him means only fifteen hours a day.

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Huang: You will have good discussions with him in August.

Kissinger: Yes. We won't press an invitation, but the Premier should know he has a standing invitation from the President and we would be pleased to welcome him, either on a visit to Washington or in combination with a visit he may take to New York. I will discuss it with him also when I come there in August.

I know the President will be very pleased with this very courteous invitation, and we can discuss that also in August when I get there:

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I am leaving tomorrow morning. I am going to Paris.

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Huang: Tomorrow?

Kissinger: Yes. And you know our views. It seems the only outstanding issue is the Cambodian issue, but in the last two days there we settled outstanding technical issues. On Vietnam and Laos, that is essentially settled. We have found, with the Vietnamese, that to settle something does not mean it will be carried out. But that is a different problem.

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Huang: It is our hope at all times that the Agreement on Restoring Peace in Vietnam will be fully implemented, article by article.

<u>Kissinger:</u> As I told you last week, if there is any advice you can give to your Vietnamese friends on Cambodia, this would be the moment to do it. And we have outlined to you our idea of how this could work.

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Huang: There is another message. [He takes a paper from his briefcase.]

Kissinger: I knew! I knew the General doesn't commit all his reserves at once a on the same with the same at the s

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Huang: Since Dr. Kissinger has mentioned this question...

Kissinger: We appreciate it very much and the form of the form of the first of the

Huang: To save time, just read it in English.

[Chi reads Tab B.] [Chi then hands it over to Dr. Kissinger.]

"The Chinese side has learned of the U.S. side's tentative thinking on the settlement of the question of Cambodia. Just as Premier Chou pointed out to Ambassador Bruce, in settling the Cambodian question, all parties concerned should respect Cambodia's sovereignty. It is impossible for the Chinese side to conduct any talks with the United States in place of the Cambodian side. The Cambodian question can only be settled through direct negotiations between the U.S. side and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia led by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. The Chinese side can communicate the U.S. tentative thinking to the Cambodian side, but as Samdech Sihanouk is still visiting Africa and Europe, it is inconvenient for us to contact him through diplomatic channels. For the sake of accuracy, the Chinese side would like to repeat the U.S. tentative thinking as follows:

"The United States is prepared to stop its bombing in Cambodia. It is prepared to withdraw the military advisory groups it has there. It is prepared

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to arrange for the withdrawal of Lon Nol for medical treatment in the United States. In return, it would like a cease-fire, if necessary for 90 days, a negotiation between the Sihanouk group and the remainder of the Lon Nol group. While this negotiation is going on in Cambodia, the United States would authorize some discussions between the staff of Ambassador Bruce and the subordinates of Prince Sihanouk in Peking. And when this process is completed in some months, the U.S. would not oppose the return of Prince Sihanouk to Cambodia. But it is a process that has to extend over some time. "If there are any inaccuracies in the above, it is expected that the U.S. side will provide corrections."

Kissinger: That is exactly correct. It is clearer than I tend to express myself, as the Prime Minister knows. It is an exact summary of our views. You can communicate this, and we will scrupulously carry out our side of any such understanding that we may reach. [Huang nods yes.] The difficulty we now face is produced by my departure now for Paris for my discussions with the North Vietnamese. And I wonder whether you have any ideas on how to handle this problem.

Huang: Our attitude is demonstrated in this message.

Kissinger: Let me say this, Mr. Ambassador, You have Le Duan and Pham Van Dong in Peking right now. I received a telegram from Ambassador Bruce describing the reception—which is a novel experience. We used to have to depend on newspapers. We have no complaint about that.

We have no objection, Mr. Ambassador, if your Prime Minister discussed with the North Vietnamese our thinking, in these terms. I leave it up to the Prime Minister. If he wishes, he is free to discuss our thinking along these lines with the North Vietnamese.

Huang: Lean report this view of yours.

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<u>Kissinger:</u> If he has ideas he wishes to pass on to me, you can pass them to General Scowcroft, who can get in touch with me very quickly in Paris.

Huang: If there is any such communication, we can do that.

Kissinger: Or at any time, while I am in Paris.

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Kissinger: Are you still looking for housing, or will you be there through the summer?

Huang: We are actively looking for housing. Today Secretary Rogers and Deputy Secretary Rush both mentioned this. I recall the President is very concerned about this and asked you to see about it.

Kissinger: That is why I am so nervous! And I want your cook to have a full opportunity to show his talents.

I have a friend on the West Coast, Danny Kaye, who is a fanatic about Chinese food and bas a Chinese stove. You will have to meet him if you come to San Clemente.

Seriously, we will probably be on the West Coast for two weeks when Brezhnev leaves. And if you wanted to, we would be delighted if you and any members of your staff came out after he leaves, so we could have a discussion about it. We would arrange for transportation and all of that; that would be easy. We also plan to--I will also see you at least once during the visit, to keep you informed.

We are now working on a communique, which I will let you see when we have a workable draft. But we are refusing any recommendations to third countries. You can tell the Prime Minister now that there will be nothing in the Communique implying joint action or joint recommendations to other countries.

Huang: I will report that to my Government. As for whether I go to San Clemente, I will report that to my Government.

Kissinger: Of course,

<u>Huang</u>: But regardless, I am very grateful for the very friendly suggestion and I do look forward to opportunities to visit various parts of the United States.

<u>Kissinger:</u> You know, of course, you are free to go anywhere you like. Except, of course, nuclear test sites.

Solomon: Some of their physicists may go to Los Alamos.

Huang: While I was in France they did invite me to nuclear test sites, but I did not go because I did not know anything about it.

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Kissinger: As a practical matter there are no restrictions, as you know.

So I will be in these endless sessions with your allies.

Huang: Our attitude you are very clear about!

Kissinger: I know. It is very clear!

Huang: You are leaving tomorrow, and I am sure you have much work to do. So I won't take up more of your time.

<u>Kissinger:</u> Mr. Ambassador, I will see you next week. I will see you before the Brezhnev visit, to review it with you.

Huang: I will come at any time.

[The meeting then ended.]

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